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THE GLORY AND THE SHAME OF A NATION:

A THANKSGIVING SERMON

PREACHED DECEMBER 7th, 1865,

AT A UNION SERVICE IN LOCKLAND, OHIO,

MADE UP OF THE

METHODIST, BAPTIST, AND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.

By Rev. SILAS HAWLEY.

JUSTICE IS GREATNESS!

"I WOULD HAVE THIS TO BE YOUR FIRST BUSINESS—TO LAY FOUNDATIONS. Obstructions at the fountain are dangerous: that body cannot live. There is no remedy but to do that by LAW which cannot possibly be done without it."

Sir Henry Vane.

Jos. B. Boyd, Printer, 25 West Fourth Street, Cincinnati.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION.

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CINCINNATI:
WESTERN TRACT AND BOOK SOCIETY.
1866.

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Lockland, Ohio, Dec. 12th, 1865.

Rev. Silas Hawley, Sir:

Having listened with pleasure and profit to your Thanksgiving Sermon delivered in Lockland to the united congregations of the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian Churches, and believing that its circulation among the people would be beneficial to the cause of Human Progress, and materially aid the friends thereof in properly directing the popular mind, we respectfully request a copy of the same for publication. Yours truly,

Wm. B. French,
Geo. S. Stearns,
C. B. Evans,
E. Cowing,
J. B. Powell,
C. Harkness.
T. S. Cowden,
J. H. Tangerman,
W. H. Blair,
Wm. Cornell, Jr.,
Edward Allen,
G. H. Burrows,
C. R. Bachelor,
Samuel Dunn,
Thomas Fox,
L. M. Miller.
C. S. Woodruff,

Cincinnati, January 8th, 1866.

Rev's. Powell, Cowden, and Messrs. Tangerman, Fox, Stearns, French, Harkness, Cornell, and others:

Gentlemen:—The Sermon, with slight additions and changes, is at your disposal. The President, in his Proclamation, kindly gave me the text; and I have done the best I could with it. I will send his Excellency, as the best return I have it in my power to make, a copy of the Discourse. Yours, for Righteousness,

SILAS HAWLEY.

THE

GLORY AND THE SHAME OF A NATION.

"Righteousness exalteth a nation: but sin is a reproach to any people."—*Prov.* 14: 34.

I use this text, at this time, because it serves my purpose, and because, as an additional reason, it is used by the President, and as a special ground for the act, in his Proclamation appointing this service. It is the affirmation of the Great Ruler of nations, and also, by indorsement, of the Ruler of this people. Its use, then, on this occasion, has a two-fold pertinence and appropriateness.

Righteousness exalteth a nation. Righteousness is Rightness; and Rightness refers to relations. Out of relations spring Rights; hence Rights are the standard, and measure, of Rightness. To respect the Rights outspringing from relations, to do this practically and habitually, is Righteousness; it is so in a man, and so in a nation. That is a Righteous man, who, in this sense, respects the claims of his relations; so, too, that is a Righteous nation, which, in the same sense, respects the claims of its relations. Just so far as a man does not respect such Claims or Rights, he is *not* Righteous; just so far, too, as a nation does not, it is *not* Righteous. We are to measure a nation, in this respect, as we measure a man; the same standard, the same test, is to be employed. The standard of Righteousness is one. There is not a high standard for the person, and a low standard for the nation;

there is the same standard for both. A nation is but an individual many times multiplied; hence the law of the individual, is the law of the nation. Numbers do not affect it. And so as to that which exalts a nation. Whatever exalts an individual, exalts a nation; whatever is glory in a person, is glory in a people. The same law, as in the other case, holds. And what *is* this? What is it that exalts a people? What is the true glory of a nation? It is not any thing material, not any thing intellectual; not, at least, primarily and essentially. It is something above these. It is not an army, not a navy, not territorial greatness, not vastness of population, not wealth, not refinement, not improvement, not prowess, not science and learning; that which elevates a nation, which is its true glory, is not any of these. No, no; you are to look for this in the field of the *moral*. All true glory is found in *moral* qualities. It is so in a man; so in a nation; so in God himself. It is Righteousness. Righteousness exalteth a man. Righteousness exalteth a nation. Righteousness exalteth God! And this alone does it. It is the only *exalting* element any where. It is the only quality that can dignify and ennoble. Righteousness is dignity itself. It is nobility itself. It is glory itself. Other things, *all* other things, exalt, as they stand connected with, and are subservient to, Righteousness. This is so of wealth, numbers, breadth of territory, armies, navies, literary and scientific attainments, the arts, military and naval achievements; these lift up a nation, give it dignity and glory, if allied with, and tributary to, Righteousness; if, in other words, they are the possessions and acts of a Righteous people. If not, the opposite is true. There was a lifting of the nation, a glory, in the late war. Not, however, in the marvelous energy it awakened, not in the immense resources of the nation it revealed, not in the mighty army it extemporized,

not in the formidable navy it built up, not in the splendid generalship it illustrated, not in the high fighting qualities of the soldiers it displayed, not in the iron strength of the government it demonstrated, nor yet in the grand victories, on the land and on the water, it achieved; the glory was not in these. The glory was in the Righteousness of the cause. It was, on *our* part, a *Righteous* war, and hence one of exaltation. We went to war for the Right; and, by the favor of Heaven, and the strength of the cause, we won. Hence we have been immeasurably raised in the eyes of the nations. Righteousness, in *this* thing, has surely exalted the nation. Right has covered our arms with glory. It is Righteousness, then, and this *only*, that exalts a nation. The reverse, of course, is true. Sin, or, which is the same thing, *Un*righteousness, sinks a people; is the *shame* of a nation. But sin is a reproach to *any* people. Sin; not a scanty territory, not paucity of numbers, not a meager army, not an indifferent navy, not a lack of wealth, refinement, improvement, prowess, science and learning; not these: these, of themselves, are not a reproach to a people. It may have, in these respects, all belonging to any people, and even more, and yet be a nation of shame. Righteousness exalts a nation; *Un*righteousness, whatever else it has, or may have, sinks and disgraces a people. The text, therefore, teaches the GLORY and the SHAME of a nation. Let us heed it.

Now, a nation, to be Righteous, must be so in three respects: in its FRAMEWORK, in its ADMINISTRATION, and in its SUBJECTS. In other words, it must have a Righteous Constitution, a Righteous Rule, and a Righteous People. These, and nothing less than these, make up a Righteous nation. Let us give these a separate consideration.

We say, then, beginning at the commencement, a nation must have a Righteous Framework. It must be *put up*

Righteously. Its stones, its timbers, all its components, must be Righteous. There must be *organic* Righteousness; Righteousness in the very *structure* itself. It must be Righteous from its corner-stone to its cap-stone. It must have a *thoroughly* Righteous Constitution. It will not do to have Unrighteousness *here;* Unrighteousness at the foundation, at the root, at the very seat of the national life, and to look for Righteousness elsewhere; this will not do. Such a thing is preposterous. There must be Righteousness here, or nowhere; this is certain. But what is such a national Framework? What, in other words, is a Righteous Constitution? It is one, as already indicated, that is in strict keeping with the Rights that exist; Rights outgrowing from relations. A nation, built up on the basis of Rights, Rights higher and lower, is, in its Framework, its Constitution, Righteous; and no other is. And these Rights—what are they? Whence shall we look for an authoritative definition and statement of them? Turn to the Decalogue, the Great Law given to the Jewish nation, and, through it, to *all* nations, and you have them; turn to the Form of Government God gave the same people, the *only* Form, and you have them; turn, too, to our national Creed, the immortal Declaration of the Fathers of the Republic, and you have them. There is, in all these, a striking harmony.—We first turn to the Decalogue. And we find it—what? Merely, a great Bill of Rights. It has, as we should expect, two parts: the first part setting forth God's Rights; the second part, Man's Rights. God's Rights are summed up in this: LOVE THE LORD THY GOD WITH ALL THY HEART; that is, make Him Supreme. Man's Rights are summed up in this: LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF; that is, make him an Equal. Here is the sum of Rights! God is First—He stands alone in the First Table of the Law; He is to hold the First place.

But, when we come to the second Table, we have Man's place and Man's Rights. Love thy neighbor as thyself; why AS thyself? Because he is an Equal; he has the same Nature, the same Rights, is put on trial for the same Destiny, and holds, by consequence, the same Place in the scale of being. This, of course, sweeps away every idea of Inequality from among men—every notion of *caste*; it makes every man an Equal. It is the very origin of the idea of Equality; the very origin of all true Democracy. Love thy neighbor as thyself—thy neighbor, white, black, red, olive, *any* color; treat him as an Equal. How fatal such a principle to all aristocratic notions, pretensions, and arrangements! And this Law holds as between nations. Nations are but Neighbors; hence the Law of the Neighbor is the true International Law. The Golden Rule should be the Golden Law of nations. Let it be, and you immensely simplify all international matters, and avoid the most troublesome complications. Let the Neighborly Law be carried out by the nations, *as* nations, and international difficulties cease; let it be carried out by individuals, *as* individuals, and difficulty, of every character, is at an end! I said truly, then, that we have in this Law the sum of all Rights; and, I might have added, the sum of all Duties. Make God, God in Christ, Supreme. Here is Theocracy! Here is Piety! Here is Christianity in its *higher* branch! Make man Equal. Here is Democracy! Here is Humanity! Here is Christianity in its *lower* branch! It is all here! We see, therefore, in the light of this great individual and national Law, what are the Rights that exist and that command respect.—We next turn to the Form of Government God gave the same people. And what *was* this? What Government *did* God give the Jews; give them for themselves, and for the nations? Here is a most vital point. What Government did he give them?

I was told two years ago—and by a thinker, too, a sort of an American Carlyle—that our Government was breaking up, because it was not the true Government, it was not a Monarchy! What *does* such a man mean? Where *can* he go for his wisdom? Now we say, in opposition to all such twaddle, that the *only* Government God ever gave the Jews, or any other people, was a Democracy; or, to speak with exactness, a Theo-Democracy. We say, too, that when the Jews clamored for a king, he gave them one *in his wrath;* solemnly warning them, at the time, of the consequences. We say, further, that He emphatically declared that the desire for a king was the rejection of Himself. Monarchy the true Government! No, no; it is a *Heathen* institution! It came from Pagans, and not from Heaven! God never gave such a Government. We go further, and say, He *could* not. True Government must be in keeping with the Great Law we have considered; it must reflect, and honor, God's supremacy, and Man's Equality. Hence it must, in its higher element, be *Theocratic*, and, in its lower, *Democratic*. God, in Government, as in the Law, must hold the First place, and Man the Second. And they did, as we have seen, in the Government, the *only* Government, He ever gave to Men. The same Rights, then, are seen to exist in the *only* God-given Government.—We now turn to our National Creed, the Great Declaration of the Fathers. And here we shall see the same Rights. I think it does not lessen the value of this immortal Declaration, to say that its *substance* is found in a work of Sir Henry Vane, one of the master spirits, if not *the* master spirit, of the time of Cromwell. And Vane picked it out of the Moral Law, and the Primitive Government, Heaven-given, of the Jews. We may be certain that all that is distinctive and imperishable in that great instrument, came from this high source. When, then, we hear

the Fathers solemnly Declare, That we hold these truths to be self-evident: That all Men are created Equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness; that to secure these ends, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their Just Powers from the consent of the Governed, they most distinctly assert the Supremacy of God, and the Equality of Man. God, as Creator, as the Giver of Rights, stands First; Man, Man as Equal, next. And when they say, that, to *secure* these ends, that is, the Equal Rights of men, Governments are instituted among them, there is no intention, of course, to say that Governments are not to secure the Rights of God. They surely did not intend, after a solemn recognition of Him as Creator, as the Giver of Rights, to *exclude* Him, or his Claims, from Human Governments; such an idea cannot, for a moment, be entertained. God, in this great Creed, is put in his just place, and Man in his. God is Supreme, and Man is Equal. And hence, *after* the Supremacy of God, the Equality of Man, Man irrespective of country, or color, or condition, or belief, in other words, SIMPLE MANHOOD, is the sovereign element, and distinguishing glory, of the Political Faith of this land! Now the blindest can not mistake what is a Righteous national Constitution, or Framework. It is most plainly one in which God has His place, and Man his place. One recognizing the Divine Supremacy, and Man's Equality. One embodying the Theocratic and Democratic elements. One reflecting the great verities of the Moral Law, and of the Creed of the Fathers. One that is true to God, and true to Man. This, and nothing less, is a Righteous Constitution, or Framework, of a people.

And here the question naturally rises, is our *own* so? Is it so? As to the Divine Supremacy, where is the recogni-

tion? And as to Human Equality, where do you find it? We know it is not there: Slavery cast it out! Slavery spoiled the fair work. Slavery led the first builders to reject the stone of Equality; hence they built without it. But Slavery has fallen; and the whole work, to a great extent, has gone down with it. It was wrong, wrong from the bottom stone; hence the fearful bowing and fall! And now where are we? What is the national situation? What are we doing? What is the work of To-Day? It is that of RECONSTRUCTION! We are to tear up, and build anew. We are to rear again the National Fabric. This is the high Work, Duty, Responsibility, now pressing upon the American people! And let us, though intensely mortifying, thank God that we *may* do this. God, in marvelous clemency, grants us, what he seldom grants a people, *the opportunity to correct our organic errors —to rectify the mistakes of the Constitution—to re-lay the national foundations—to re-cast, as far as it is needful, the whole form of Society.* It is a high favor. It is a rare favor. It is now our grand and rare privilege, to Reconstruct the nation, including the very basis; to begin anew, and from the first stone; to build over again, and from the very bottom, after the Pattern given by God to the Fathers, and embodied in the Declaration of Independence! This, in Heaven's special mercy, is our high opportunity. God, winking at the great error of the first builders, and yet toppling down their work, virtually says to us: Try it over again; I give you a *second* opportunity to rear, and after the Model furnished, a Righteous national Edifice. And surely we should *now* see to it that the work is *rightly* and *thoroughly* done. We should lay a *just* foundation. We should not again be under the necessity—if God should give us the opportunity, as He may, and probably will not—to tear up things from the very basis. It is a most difficult thing to

correct a fault in the foundation. We should, then, at this time, lay the right basis—put in the right stones, and in their right place; we should do this, though it should take half a century. Put, then, in the National Constitution, a distinct recognition and assertion of the Existence and Rights of God; make it radiant with such recognition and assertion. Make God, God in Christ, to hold His true place in the Instrument. Make it emphatically Christian. We, by profession, are a CHRISTIAN people; put out the fact, therefore, distinctly, prominently, radiantly, in the Constitution of the Country. And put out the same in every *State* Constitution. *Make it the First Great Law of the land!* And in keeping with this, let the President and Governors, in their Proclamations, recognize God in Christ. Let them be *Christian*, and not *Deistical*, Proclamations. But this is not enough. Put Man, too, in his true place in these Instruments. Put there just as distinct and emphatic a recognition and assertion of the Rights of Man. Let God's Supremacy stand first; and then Man's Equality. Hence blot from the Federal Constitution every line, and word, and dot, put there by Slavery —expunge every trace and finger-mark of the Iniquity; and put in their place, broadly, legibly, unmistakably, the Doctrine of Human Equality. Let it glow and blaze with this great Truth. And let the same be done with the Constitution of each and every State in the entire Union. Let Man, every man, in its Constitution, stand in the same relation to the Courts; to the Ballot-Box; to every political Right and Immunity. *Make Equality the Second Great Law of the land!*

And, in the circumstances, I would begin this work at the South. I can not at all agree with those who tell us, that we can not compel the South to do what we will not do. It was the South that led the Founders to construct the Union

falsely in the first place; let them, then, be the first to repair the mischief. *First* in the Wrong; let them be the *first* in the Right. This is simply just. Hence I would, for this reason, begin there. I would, too, begin there, because there is the most rottenness there. I would, further, begin there, because God began to tear down there. I would, once more, begin there, because the southern builders, with hot zeal, are building wrongly and falsely. I would, as a final reason, begin there, BECAUSE WE NOW HAVE THE RIGHT AND POWER TO DO WHAT WE PLEASE THERE. And how wonderful the manner we acquired this right and power! We have them; and God gave them to us! Before the war, things were *tied up*—tied up by the Constitution; hence we could not rightfully reach Slavery in the States. But God taught us *how* to reach it, and slave-holders, too! We have reached both, and both are at our feet! These States, though not out of the Union, *have forfeited their Rights*; they are *wholly* at the mercy of the Federal Government. So the President treats them; and his policy, strange to say, has received the indorsement of *all* parties. True, some tell us they go for the Constitutional Rights of the South; what *do* they mean? Go for the Constitutional Rights of the South? Why, they have only two: *the right to be tried, and to be hung!* And do these persons go for *these?* I confess *I* go for them, touching some of the Leaders; but not touching the southern masses. I am not so vindictive as that! As for several of the Leaders, I am most decidedly for giving them their *full* Constitutional Rights! But I would stop here. The South, therefore, as revolted States, *have no Rights*—none, at least, to be coveted; very well. It is for *us*, then, to dictate the terms upon which they may *regain* their rights and standing. And this gives us the *whole* ground. We may do as we please with them; I mean,

within the limits of right and reason. And surely we *should* please, in the Grand Opportunity afforded by God himself, to have them reconstruct those States Rightly, Christianly, Democratically; to reconstruct them after the Creed of the Fathers; to reconstruct them by making them, as the Constitution requires, *Republican* States; to reconstruct them in such a way as to give the *loyal* black the same Rights as the *disloyal* white; to reconstruct them in such a manner as to shield the millions of helpless Freedmen from the vindictive and crushing power of their late masters, now smarting from defeat and humiliation; to *so* reconstruct them that the man of color shall have the protection of the ballot as well as the poor man without color; in a word, to have the reconstruction such as to embrace the Divine Supremacy, and Human Equality. This certainly *ought* to be our pleasure. And if it is not, we are the guiltiest of all people! If we have the right and the power, and use them not, what justification can we offer to Heaven, and the civilized world? I tremble when I think what may be the result of a *failure* here. It is a momentous matter! A fearful responsibility rests on the nation at this hour! Heaven is watching our action! The eyes of the struggling masses of all lands are fixed upon us! Let us not be deceived. Let us not misjudge the crisis. Let us not be carried away by the miserable cry of *conciliation*. Why, this very cry led us into error before; led us to build up a false national fabric. We must conciliate, we were told—we could form no Union without it; that conciliation proved our ruin! And *now* we hear the same cry! Conciliate? Yes, conciliate God, and justice, and the victims of southern oppression, and their countless sympathizers throughout the world! Yes, conciliate these; and by doing that which is simply Right and Equal! And this *must* be done. We tell the President, we tell the members of Con-

gress, we tell the southern builders, that this stone of Equality *must* go into the structure. It *must* go in. You may reject it, as did the first builders; you may reconstruct without it; you may put up your masonry on another basis; but it will not stand. It is sure to come down. God will tumble it down. Your Reconstruction will end in Redestruction! It can not stand. God's threatening against a similar Jewish work, in Ezekiel, is sure to be executed against it. It is false in itself; and, in addition, is *daubed with untempered mortar!* Of course it must fall. And yet we hope better things of the President, and of Congress, though we thus speak.

But just here we are met with difficulties. It is difficult, we are told, to fix the *status* of this people. It *is* difficult, if we ignore our principles; otherwise it is not. Why, the *status* of these men, in the light of our principles, is that of any other men unconvicted of crime! Keep this fact in view, and where is the difficulty? But it is a grave problem, we are further told, to know what to do with them. Is it a grave problem to know what to do with the Irish and Germans? Make it such, if we dare! *Do* with them? That, I modestly suggest, is none of our business. They are, thank God, and the late President, and our brave soldiers, *their own men;* hence it is a question of *theirs*. But they can not live at the south, it is urged, in a state of *Equality;* so it was urged that they could not live there in a state of *Freedom!* Give these men the ballot at this time, we again hear, and you ensure their destruction. Fill the south, then, with colored troops! Do this, and we will risk the results. But voting, we are told, is not a *natural* right. What folly! Governments, the Fathers say, are instituted to *secure* natural Rights; hence, they are *essential* to this end. As an *essential*, therefore, to natural Rights, Government *is* a natural

Right. A natural Right is *no* Right without Government; hence Government is a natural Right. But *voting* is *governing* in this country! Voting then, clearly and undeniably, is a natural Right! But, it is further urged, they should be sent out of the country. That, I would gently hint, does not happen to be *our* business. They are their own masters; hence they are not likely to leave until they *send themselves!* Besides, the nation is solemnly pledged, by the great Proclamation of Freedom, to use its entire power to maintain, and maintain *here*, the full Freedom of this people. We may not depart an inch from this high engagement. There is, we hear from another quarter, a natural antagonism between the races; consequently, one or the other must perish. We should think so when we see the *bleached* faces of these people all through the South! Why, look at it. Out of four millions of persons *reputed* African, few are found of pure blood! This, if *natural antagonism*, must be a very queer type! There is, others insist, a constitutional repugnance to *color*. I say not. These self-same persons wear many articles of black. A gentleman said this, in a stage-coach, recently; I remarked that he must be mistaken. I pointed to what he had on, and all selected from his own *taste;* and I then drew from him the confession, seeing he had intensely yellow whiskers and mustache, that he had paid barbers largely to turn them into black! And yet this gentleman insisted, that he had a constitutional repugnance *to* black! Men are mistaken here. Their repugnance—I will not say it is constitutional—is to a *low* condition; and as black has been the *badge* of that condition, they mistake a repugnance to that for a repugnance to color. This, at least, is so largely. But it is said, this is the white man's country. It *is;* and the black man's, too. It is the rich man's country, and the poor man's country, the strong man's

country, and the weak man's country; in fact, it is *every* Man's country! Rather, it is Man's country. To be more exact, it is, first, God's country, and secondly, Man's country. The white man's country! An aristocracy of *color!* It is positively shameful; the most hateful and irrational of all aristocracies. White man's country! A country first occupied by a people *not* white; a country whose independence was achieved partly by black men; a country whose creed ignores *all* distinctions of hue, birth, belief, and condition; a country whose second victory over England was, in part, won by colored troops; a country just saved, largely, by soldiers in ebony; and yet a white man's country! Perish the unjust, ungrateful, un-American, shameful sentiment! Let us hear no more of it. This matter of suffrage, we hear still, has always been left to the States themselves. Very well; and so has the matter of Slavery itself! And yet we have stepped in and taken it out of the hands of the States. Why not do so in the matter of suffrage? But if the Federal authority gives the ballot to the colored man of the South, it must to the colored man of the North. Most absurd! Because the Federal authority does what it will in States that have *forfeited* their Rights, may it do what it will in States that have *not* forfeited their Rights? Strange that men in high places can blunder in so plain a case! But all this, we hear still, would lead to social equality. Not at all. Giving the ballot to the Irish, does not lead to social equality. Social equality is a matter of *taste;* political equality, a matter of *right.* It will, however, it is further pressed, lead to amalgamation. Not necessarily so. Slavery is the great amalgamationist; Freedom is not much given to it. But if we *must* have amalgamation, let us have it in a state of Freedom rather than in a state of Slavery. But these men, it is answered, are not fit for the ballot. Once, they

were not fit for Freedom! But they are *as* fit, and *more* worthy, than many a southern white. Further, they are *as* fit, and *as* worthy, as the great mass of Irish voters. But *Time*, we hear from very high sources, is an Element in Reform. Just so said the Fathers when they put up the national structure with Slavery in it! Time, they said, would make all right! And we know—know to our sorrow and shame—what Time did in the premises. Time make all right! Do a mighty Wrong, a terrible Injustice To-Day, and leave it to Time to correct! Make Unrighteousness *organic*—make it vital and fundamental, and then tell us that TIME will work a complete cure! What an idea! What a plea, coming from such sources! Still you must allow, we are once more told, that we have our *Prejudices*. Yes; and we have our *Principles*. And prejudice, I think, should bow to principle. Let us, therefore, face our principles, or renounce them; let us live up to our professions, or abandon them; let us be Americans, or quit the country!

We have, we see, the most valid reasons for beginning with the South. Let us, then, begin there. And let us insist upon the most entire *thoroughness*. Let us not be in *haste*. No matter as to time; no matter if it shall take as long to rear up the prostrate institutions of the South as it did the Chinese wall, if so there be thoroughness! Let us pursue the same course with the South, that the authorities here, as I learn, did with the bridge that was a long time in process of re-building. Many wondered at the *slowness* of the work; but the secret, as I have it, was, that, the work being defective, the workmen were required, and several times, to tear up and build over again. So let it be with the South. The President has made them tear up some, and re-build; let him continue to do it, until they are thoroughly right. Let him insist, backed by the Congress, and the

voice and sentiment of the nation, that *every* stone, and timber, and part, and parcel, belonging to a Christian and Democratic structure, *shall* go into their work. Let this be done, and all, as to Framework, is right at *that* end of the Union. And then let the same work be done in connection with the *whole* National Building. All, in a sense, calls for Reconstruction. The whole nation, to an extent, should be re-cast. The work should be carried, in its *just* measure, into the social, religious, educational, and industrial departments of the nation. There should, I think be a *little* Reconstruction touching churches, schools, street-cars, and *perhaps*, some other things. We must be, throughout, a Christian and Democratic people! Let us be, and we shall, in our Framework, be a Righteous people!

A nation, too, to be Righteous, *must have a Righteous Rule.* If a machine must be right in itself, it must be *used* rightly. So if a nation, in its Framework, is to be Righteous, it is to be Righteously governed. It will not do to commit a Righteous thing to Unrighteous hands; to commit a Righteous Government to Unrighteous Rulers. This will not do. There must, then, be a Righteous Rule. But a Righteous Rule, supposes a Righteous Ruler. What, therefore, is a Righteous Ruler? He is one, I answer, who reflects, in his own person and acts, the two great features of the organic Law of a Righteous people; who, in other words, reflects the Theocratic and Democratic Elements. A Ruler, like the nation itself, stands in two relations: first, in relation to God, and secondly, in relation to the people. He is the minister of God, as well as the minister of the people; and *first* the minister of God. And, as the minister of God, he is responsible to *Him;* as the minister of the people, he is responsible to *them.* On him, therefore, rests this two-fold responsibility. He is to see that God does not suffer, and

that Man does not suffer; he is set as a guardian of the Rights of both. Hence it is said, *he that ruleth over men, must be Just; ruling in the fear of God.* This is the great Law of Rule. He must be JUST; just as a man, and just as a Ruler. And he must rule in the fear of God. Not simply in the fear of the people, but in the fear of God. Must be JUST. Surely men of profaneness, of looseness of life, men of corruption, men of the cup and of lust, men without the fear of God, and without, too, the fear of a Righteous people, are *not* such Rulers! The great Apostle, in striking keeping with this, says: *For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou, then, not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: For he is the minister of God to thee for good, But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.* Here, then, you have the two-fold character, relation, and, by consequence, responsibility, of the Ruler. He is the minister of God, and the minister of men. You have, too, his WORK: to reward the good, and punish the evil. He is a PRAISE to them that do well, and a TERROR to the doers of evil. He bears not the sword in vain—he has a sword, and he uses it; nor does he possess his great power of reward in vain. When men are good and loyal, they have his praise; when they shed their blood for the country, he rewards them, if they have them not, with the full rights of citizenship, and, in addition, with honors. He is a *praise* to them that do well! And he is more; he is a *terror* to evil-doers. A *terror*, mark; and how a terror? By being a revenger, to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. *Pardoning, you see, is not the whole of his business!* He executes wrath. Not upon *little* offenders, while the great are screened; not upon such as a Payne, and

a Wirz, while such as a Davis, and a Lee, go unpunished! He is a terror to evil doers, and the *greatest* terror to the *greatest* evil-doers. And this makes the Righteous Ruler. This makes the Just Ruler. This, in fact, makes the Great Ruler. Agesilaus, the noble Spartan Ruler, on hearing his men praise the great king, asked: *How is he greater than I, unless he be more Just?* He was right. Justice makes the Great Ruler. And all this, of course, applies to every kind of Ruler, to Law-Makers and Judges, as well as to Executives. They are *all* bound by the same law. They are, in their several departments, to be Just men, ruling in the fear of God. Justice is to be their guide, and Justice the measure of their greatness!

Now, with this view, we naturally turn at this critical time to the President; turn with anxiety and with hope. We can not but feel that he has been called to his high position for such a time as this. He has certainly come to the Presidency the *right way*, that is, has come from the masses. Like the pure and noble Lincoln, he is *from* the people, and *of* the people. And, knowing the people, he will care for them; knowing, as we trust, the God of his Fathers, he will rule in His fear; knowing the time he comes to the Presidency, he will prove himself equal to it; knowing the weak and helpless condition of the loyal and patriotic blacks, he will arm them with the ballot and every other American Right; knowing the hate and revenge of their late masters, he will make them powerless for harm; and knowing, too, the leading enemies of the country, he is sure to punish them. This, at least, must be true touching Davis. That man I hold to be the guiltiest of this, or any other age. If we consider when, and where, he was born; when, and where, reared; consider his culture and intelligence; consider the positions he has held in, and the favors received from, the

Government; consider the character of the Government; consider the Rebellion he instigated, and led; consider its terrible destruction of life and of property; consider the horrors and atrocities of Andersonville, Salisbury, Belle Isle, and Libby Prison, for which, more than all others, he is responsible; consider the imprisonment and execution of loyal men in East Tennessee, and elsewhere, under his eye, and most likely, by his direction; consider the demoralization of the country caused by the war; consider the woe and lamentation carried to the homes of the American people by the loss of hundreds of thousands of loved ones; consider the scoundrels in Canada, acting by his authority, and under his pay, invading our towns, robbing their banks, and killing their citizens, and, besides, spreading the yellow fever, by the importation of infected clothing; consider his *connection*, I will not say *complicity*, with the murder of the good and great-hearted Lincoln, and the attempted murder of the Secretary of State;—I say, if we consider these things, and others scarcely less atrocious and horrible, we shall, we *must* set that man down as the *guiltiest* of men! And, as such, I would, if a Ruler, *hang him!* I would hang him on a Friday, if I knew the Millennium would dawn on Saturday! I would do it the day before, resting assured that I should have the hearty applause of the Righteous millions of that glorious age! Let the disbelievers in capital punishment remonstrate, let the sympathizers with treason protest, let even the Plymouth pulpit dissuade, let the women of the South petition, let *bloody* England, and *bloody* Europe, bawl; I, nevertheless, would *hang* the Arch-Traitor! And I can not think the President will do less. He, I am persuaded, is awake to the claims and responsibilities of the situation. Never did man, never did President, have a grander opportunity! Hence I would say to the President what Milton wrote to

Cromwell, on his elevation to the Protectorship of England, and in the spirit, I trust, in which he wrote, with slight variations adapting it to the different circumstances. "Consider frequently, consider in thy inmost thoughts, how dear a pledge, from how dear a parent intrusted (the gift Liberty, the giver thy Country) thou hast received into thy keeping. Revere the hope that is entertained of thee, the confident expectation of America; call to mind the features and the wounds of all the brave men, who, under the command of thy martyred predecessor, have contended for the inestimable prize; call to mind the ashes and the image of those who fell in the bloody strife; respect the apprehension and the discourse that is held of us by foreign nations, how much it is they look for in the recollection of the Black Man's Liberty, so bravely achieved, of our redeemed Republic, which we may now so gloriously Reconstruct; which if it shall be in so short a time subverted, nothing can be imagined more shameful or dishonorable; *last of all, revere thyself*, so deeply bound, that that Liberty, in securing which thou hast encountered such mighty hardships, and faced such fearful perils, shall, while in thy custody, neither be violated by thee, nor any way broken in upon by others. *Recollect that thou thyself canst not be free unless the blacks are so; for it is fitly so provided in the nature of things, that he who conquers another's Liberty, in the very act loses his own;* he becomes, and justly, the foremost slave. Thou hast taken on thyself a task which will probe thee to the very vitals, and disclose to the eyes of all how much is thy courage, thy firmness, and thy fortitude; whether that piety, perseverance, moderation and justice really exist in thee, in consideration of which we have believed that God hath given thee the supreme dignity over thy fellows. To govern thirty-six mighty States by thy counsels; to recall the people from their cor-

rupt institutions to a purer and nobler discipline; to extend thy thoughts and send out thy mind to our remotest shores; to foresee all, and provide for all; to shrink from no labor; to trample under foot and tear to pieces all the snares of pleasure, and all the entangling seducements of wealth and power: these are matters so arduous, that, in comparison of them, the perils of war are but the sports of children. These will winnow thy faculties, and search thee to the very soul; they require a man sustained by a strength that is more than human, and whose meditations and whose thoughts shall be in perpetual commerce with his Maker."

Now let the President be of this character, and let the same spirit characterize the men in the several departments of the Government, and this nation, in its *Rule*, is a Righteous people!

But, finally, a nation to be Righteous, *must have Righteous Subjects*. The *People* must be Righteous. A Righteous Framework, and Rule, are vital and fundamental; so, and in a higher sense, are Righteous Citizens. To make the *Citizen* Righteous, is the end of Righteous Laws and Magistrates. They, in fact, borrow their value from this end. Hence let the Citizen be *Un*righteous, and all that is valuable in a Righteous Constitution, and a Righteous Rule, is wholly lost; the end is not attained. Further, the true criterion of judgment, in respect to a nation, is the *character of the People*. This is so touching an individual. We really judge an individual, not by his creed, or his professions, but by his life and walk. We go behind his creed, behind his theories and professions, to see what his character is. It is well to have a good creed—very well; but better to have a good character. So a nation. In our decision here, we step behind Laws, and Administrators, to see what the People are. This, specially, is the place to look for Righteousness. Here,

in reality, is where God looks for it. Moreover, Righteous Laws and Magistrates, and an Unrighteous People, increase the guilt of that Unrighteousness. Surely, with such Laws, and Rule, there is no excuse, no cloak, not the *shadow* of either, for Unrighteousness! Besides, an Unrighteous people will not long have Righteous Laws and Rulers. They will change them. They will pull them down. The Jews did this. They had perfect institutions—so, at least, germinally; they had God, and good men, to be their Rulers. And yet they lusted for the institutions of the heathen; they desired a king, and other things to correspond. The truth is, that they virtually *became* heathen, and hence, and naturally, clamored for heathen institutions! And God, as we have seen, granted them in his wrath. And so it is with a nation: it will lift up its character—lift it up by Righteousness; or it will change, or drag down, its Laws and its Rulers. This is the natural and certain result. But more than all this is true. To *have*, in this land, Righteous Laws and Rulers, there must, very largely, be a Righteous People. The People, with us, *make* the Laws and the Rulers. Hence, the latter, to a great extent, reflect the former. You see, in a high sense, the People *in* the Laws—the Citizen *in* the Ruler. Make, therefore, the People Righteous, and you really have Righteousness everywhere! Righteousness, then, must exist in the People of this land. The People, in their characters and lives, must reflect the Divine Supremacy, and Human Equality; must, in other words, be Christian and Democratic. They must honor God, and honor Man. These are the great elements of a Righteous People.

And here, my friends, there is WORK to be done. We talk of Reconstruction. *Here*, after all, it is most vitally needed. Our *deepest* need, say what we will, is a Reconstruction of Character and of Life. Here we are specially

wrong. Here we are specially Unrighteous. There is deep wrong in business, in social usages, in religion itself, in individual habits, in the lives of men; there is a stern call, touching *all* these, for Reconstruction. What a state of morals we see in the land! What a state, amid all that Heaven has done for us! What profanity! What drunkenness! What lewdness! What sabbath profanation! What robberies! What murders! What villainies in high and low life! What luxury! What neglect of God, and the Soul! Surely the very flood-gates of Unrighteousness are open! Our large cities fairly fester, and reek, and boil, and overflow with pollution. Licentiousness, like a spring-flood, is sweeping through all ranks and circles. Intemperance, too, is equally swelling, and rushing, and desolating. This, together with impurity, is hurrying untold numbers of the young, of the *old* even, to ruin. Crime, every one knows, is startlingly bold and defiant. Plainly, there is a demand, an imperative demand, for a broad and thorough Reconstruction. We should, as a people, should, in our *elemental* character, Reconstruct. This is Heaven's expectation. It is Heaven's *demand!* Let us, then, be alarmed. Let us awake. Let us work. Let us pray. Let us warn. Let us push the work of moral and religious Reconstruction. Let us work at the very roots of the nation. Let us strike at the very foundations of the national disease. Let us, having, under God, put down our *Enemies*, now put down our *Vices*. Let us blot out every vestige of Slavery, and with it, and as a part of it, the shame and disgrace of the Polygamy of Utah. I trust that that abomination will not live through the present Congress. Let us, too, cultivate the neighborly Law in respect to other nations. We should not be in *haste* to go to War. What we have just done, is, I am persuaded, enough to secure all our Rights;

enough, for at least, fifty years. MAXIMILIAN, I am satisfied, will take the *hint*; if not, let us be slow to give him the *kick*.

"Rightly to be great,
Is not to stir without great argument."

We should be neighborly toward all Nations. Let us, then, by correcting and lifting up the *character* of the People, make the nation, together with the other things we seek, a Nation of Righteousness. And thus shall we be a Nation of Exaltation and Glory! Thus shall Salvation be nigh to us, and Glory dwell in the land! Thus shall Mercy and Truth meet together, and Righteousness and Peace kiss each other. Thus shall Truth spring out of the earth, and Righteousness look down from heaven! Thus shall the Lord give that which is good, and our land yield her increase! Thus shall Righteousness go before Him, and set us in the way of His steps! But let us refuse to do this, and, with all that is priceless in our Institutions, glorious in our History, and rich in the hopes of our Future, we shall become a Nation of Shame! Righteousness Exalteth a Nation: but Sin is a Reproach to any People!

"What constitutes a State?
Not high raised battlements, or labored mounds,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned;
Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride—
Not starred and spangled courts,
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
No; Men, high-minded Men,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued,
In forest brake or den,
As beasts excel cold brakes or brambles rude;
Men who their Duties know
Best know their *Rights*,, and. knowing, *dare* maintain

Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the Tyrant, while they rend the Chain.
These constitute a State,
And *Sovereign Law*, that State's collected Will,
O'er Thrones and Globes elate,
Sits Empress—Crowning Good, repressing Ill!"

And now we bring, in this Christian temple, an offering of Thanks and Praise to God in Christ. We thank Him, first of all, that the Nation *lives!* We thank Him that it lives in its *integrity and entirety!* We thank Him, just as devoutly, that Slavery does *not live!* We thank Him that this Great Enemy of the Republic, choosing to take the sword, has perished by the sword! We thank Him for the complete and signal victory of our arms! We thank Him that the old Flag, to-day, floats proudly over every foot of our vast domain! We thank Him for giving us the best of Generals, and the bravest of Soldiers! We thank Him, while dropping the tear over the noble slain, that so many of our valiant boys have been spared to us! We thank Him that war, having gloriously accomplished its work, has ceased in the land! We thank Him, that, all through our mighty struggle, He has averted foreign war! We thank Him for the prospects of a Righteous Reconstruction! We thank Him, too, for the health and fruitfulness of the year! We thank Him for a Free Gospel, a Free Press, and Free Schools! We thank Him for Churches, and Pastors, and Sabbath-Schools. We thank Him that we are Americans. We thank Him that it is ours to live, act, achieve, and suffer in this Advanced and Glorious Age! For these, and other mercies, we offer devout Thanks, through the Redeemer, to the God of our Fathers! And having thus, by the *lip*, rendered Thanks, we go out, we trust, to do so by Patriotic and Righteous *Lives!*

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"That they must not only sweep the house clean below, BUT MUST PULL DOWN ALL THE COBWEBS WHICH HANG IN THE TOP AND CORNERS, THAT THEY MIGHT NOT BREED DUST, AND SO MAKE A FOUL HOUSE HEREAFTER; that they had now an OPPORTUNITY to make their Country HAPPY by removing ALL GRIEVANCES, AND PULLING UP THE CAUSES OF THEM BY THE ROOTS, IF ALL MEN WOULD DO THEIR DUTIES."

John Pym.